

# Pedagogy and practice: Grammatical analysis in a revitalization project

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# Outline

Background: Yurok documentation and pedagogy

Pedagogy and research

Plurality

Discourse and TAM

Practice and research

Tense and aspect

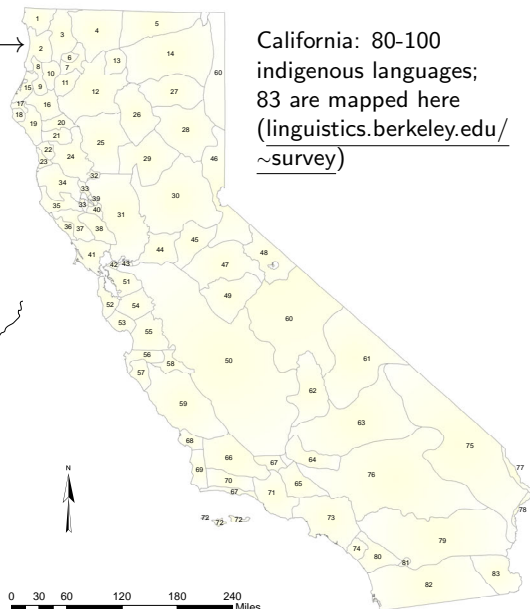
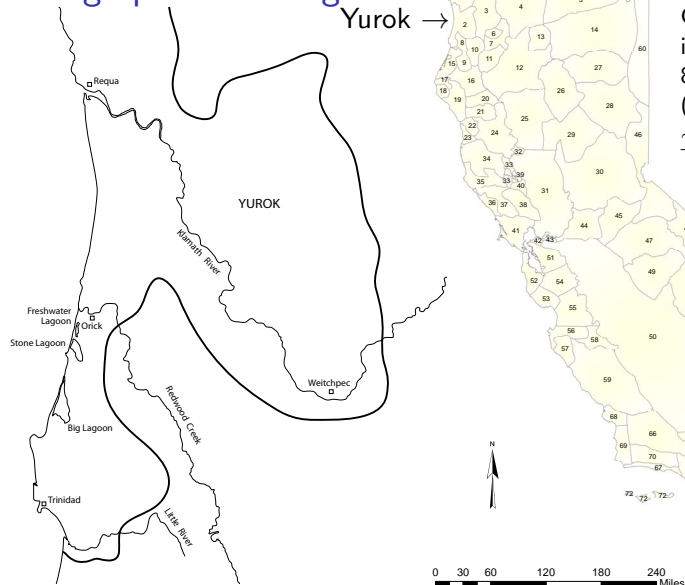
Valence

These slides: [linguistics.berkeley.edu/~garrett/ICLDC-2013.pdf](http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~garrett/ICLDC-2013.pdf)

# Geographical setting

Yurok →

California: 80-100  
indigenous languages;  
83 are mapped here  
([linguistics.berkeley.edu/  
~survey](http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~survey))



# Klamath River estuary



Nick Evans skinnydips here →  
Pacific Ocean, 15 August 2006

## Language use 1850-2010

The Yurok Tribe is the largest in California by population, with a familiar postcontact social and linguistic history:

- ▶ 1850: c. 2,500 speakers at the time of White contact in 1850
- ▶ 1860-1930: disease, killings, economic dislocation; boarding schools
- ▶ 1945-1955
  - ▶ c. 250 fluent speakers (my guess)
  - ▶ intergenerational transmission in only a few grandparent households
- ▶ 1990: 1-2 dozen fluent speakers active in language programs
- ▶ 2000: half a dozen fluent speakers active in language programs
- ▶ 2010: very few fluent speakers, none active in language teaching

The tribe's Education Department has had a language office for >10 years, with 3 employees for about 5-6 years: documentation, teaching, and preparation of pedagogical materials.

# Language restoration

## Earlier activities (from 1980s):

- ▶ Community classes with fluent elders
- ▶ Master-apprentice teams (fluent elders and learners)
- ▶ Classes at Hoopa Valley High School (taught by learners)

## Current activities (2013)

- ▶ Continuing community classes
- ▶ Language 'pods' (small immersion groups led by advanced learners)
- ▶ Language teaching in most local schools, including some immersion

# Arcata community class: †Aileen Figueroa and students



## Eureka High School: Carole Lewis and students





# Klamath Family Head Start: Mike Carlson and students



Photo: Robert Gauthier, LA Times

# Language restoration: 2013

## Current activities

- ▶ Continuing community classes
- ▶ Language 'pods' (small immersion groups led by advanced learners)
- ▶ Language teaching in most local schools, including some immersion

## Younger speakers

- ▶ Four or five (in their 50s or early 60s) had Master-Apprentice training, participated in community classes with multiple speakers
- ▶ A few people in their 20s and 30s began learning from fluent elders
- ▶ Half a dozen are fluid speakers, able to converse and teach
- ▶ Dozens have basic knowledge of morphology and good lexical knowledge

Younger speakers now learn mainly from one another, not fluent elders, and from other resources.

# Resources for learning and teaching Yurok

## Printed resources

- ▶ Curricular materials prepared by the Yurok Tribe or privately
- ▶ R. H. Robins, *Yurok grammar* (1958): incomprehensible to a non-linguist
- ▶ Georgiana Trull, *Yurok language conversation book* (2003): sentences by topic (also online at [linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok/web/YLCB.php](http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok/web/YLCB.php))
- ▶ Andrew Garrett, *Basic Yurok grammar* (2010): very limited coverage
- ▶ Lisa Conathan et al., *Preliminary Yurok dictionary* (2005)

## Media and online resources

- ▶ Extensive collection of recordings made by the Yurok Tribe and distributed to tribal members and teachers
- ▶ Yurok Language Project website: [linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok](http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok)

# Yurok Language Project: Dictionary

[Home](#)[Dictionary and texts](#)[Language resources](#)[Our project](#)

## Yurok dictionary

Writing system: default | [hyphens](#) | [linguistic](#)

### Search index (1)

ro'opek'

### Dictionary entry

ro'opek' • *vi e-class* • I run

Lexicon record # 2899 | Source references: R243 JE109 JE113 JE235

Derivation: morphological structure ro'-op-g-

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[Short recordings \(2\)](#) | [Sentence examples \(28\)](#)

1. ro'opek' "I run" (spoken by Florence Shaughnessy)

[Download](#)

2. ro'op'es "run!" (spoken by Jessie Van Pelt)

[Download](#)

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[Short recordings \(2\)](#) | [Sentence examples \(28\)](#)

1. Poy keech ro'opek'.

I've won a foot race.

[Download](#) | Password required— Glenn Moore, [Sentences \(AG-03-1\)](#) (AG-03-1, 2004)

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### Short recordings (2) | Sentence examples (28)

1. **Poy keech ro'opek'.**

I've won a foot race.

| [Download](#) | Password required— Glenn Moore, [Sentences \(AG-03-1\)](#) (AG-03-1, 2004)

2. **Wechpues kue ro'opek' 'owook.**

I'm going to run to Weitchpec tomorrow.

| [Download](#)— Georgiana Trull, [Yurok Language Conversation Book, chapter 6: "Go get it"](#) (CT3-06, 2003)

3. **Keech mee' ro'op', 'o ro' keromoh.**

It's not running, the car's not running.

| [Download](#) | Password required— Violet Moore, [Sentences \(VM1\)](#) (VM1, 1994)

4. **Poy ro'opek'.**

I'm running in front.

| [Download](#) | Password required— Florence Shaughnessy, [Sentences \(LA138-001\)](#) (LA138-001, 1980)

5. **Poy keech ro'op'. Kolen noohl heenoy keech weno'omoh'.**

S/he's running ahead. Someone else is running way behind.

| [Download](#) | Password required— Florence Shaughnessy, [Sentences \(LA138-001\)](#) (LA138-001, 1980)

# Yurok Language Project: Texts

## Yurok Language Project

[Home](#)[Dictionary and texts](#)[Language resources](#)[Our project](#)

### Florence Shaughnessy

### "The Young Man from Serper" (1951)

Writing system: [default](#) | [hyphens](#) | [linguistic](#)Display style: [paragraph](#) | [sentence](#) | [look-up](#)

Text identifier: LA16-7

Speaker: [Florence Shaughnessy](#)

Primary documentation: R. H. Robins

Edition: R. H. Robins, *The Yurok Language* (1958), pp. 164-165

Note: According to Robins (on the audio recording), this story "belongs to the Serper family."

Yurok audio:  | Download: [LA16-7.mp3](#) | Password required

1. **Noohl heekon pecheek ho 'okw' perey, tue' wo'oot ho 'ok'ws 'ue-k'ep'ew.**  
Once upon a time an old woman lived up the river, and she had her grandson there with her.
2. **Tue' 'o chahchew ho soo megetohlkwom' kue 'ue-k'ep'ew.**  
It was difficult for her to look after her grandson.

# Yurok Language Project: Database

All database components are linked in the online interface:

- ▶ Lexicon: c. 4,500 entries in c. 73,000 lines
- ▶ For morphosyntax, syntax, discourse: c. 6,500 sentences in sources from 1889-2008
  - ▶ A smaller set of about 25 edited texts, mostly traditional narratives (1902-2003; >100 others remain unedited)
  - ▶ A larger dossier of examples from fortuitous elicitation and exemplification (of other topics)
- ▶ For phonology, phonetics, pronunciation
  - ▶ c. 4,000 recorded words and phrases
  - ▶ c. 200 recorded texts



# Language restoration settings

- ▶ Hawaiian, Ojibwe
  - ▶ numerous fluent speakers
  - ▶ extensive literature and other resources
- ▶ Karuk (N California)
  - ▶ several fluent first-language speakers
  - ▶ younger speakers have acquired fluency from them
- ▶ Miami, Mutsun
  - ▶ no speakers remaining when revival begins
  - ▶ archival material and interpretation essential
- ▶ Yurok
  - ▶ young speakers acquired basic competence from fluent speakers
  - ▶ need to talk and teach outstrips available grammatical materials
  - ▶ young speakers now learn mainly from one another

# Pedagogy and research

Two examples: the needs of language learning guide research

- ▶ Plurality
- ▶ Discourse and TAM

# Plurality: The ‘plural increment’

Two kinds of plural verb:

- ▶ Shorter plurals: stem + ending
  - ▶ **skewokseem-ek** ‘I like him’ → **skewokseem-oh** ‘we like him’
- ▶ Longer plurals: stem + **extra morph** + ending
  - ▶ **helomey-ek** ‘I dance’ → **helomey-e’m-oh** ‘we dance’

R. H. Robins, *The Yurok Language* (1958):

- ▶ used the term ‘plural increment’ to refer to the extra morph
- ▶ never described a meaning difference between the shorter and longer plurals, or a reason for using one or the other

In fact the ‘incremental plurals’ are a kind of collective marker ...

# Plurality: ‘Incremental plurals’ as collectives

Examples of activities that subjects do together:

1. **Hi-oo'm-oh 'o'lehl mehl yo'.**  
get-COLL-1PL house from 3sg  
“We got the house from him.”
2. **Neemee chpaa ko' nep-ee'm-ow' nepuy.**  
NEG long.time FUT eat-COLL-2PL salmon  
“Soon you will eat salmon.”
3. **Ho ruerow-oo'm-oh.**  
IMPF.PST sing-COLL-1PL  
“We've been singing.”

This collective suffix is ordinarily used with verbs whose default interpretation is collective.

## Plurality: 'Incremental plurals' as collectives

Ordinarily not used for distributed actions (1), generics (1), or psychological states (3):

1. **Nekah kegor' ro'opoh.**  
we one:ITER run:1PL  
'We ran one at a time.'
2. **Tue' soo nepehl 'we-nepuy.**  
DISC thus eat:3PL 3-salmon  
'That's how they ate their salmon.'
3. **Nekah skewokseemoh yo'.**  
we like:1PL 3SG  
'We like him.'

Such findings are interesting and can be stated in practical terms.

# Discourse and TAM

Discourse relations are expressed by adverbs:

- ▶ **tue'** “and, but”
- ▶ **kwelekw** “well”
- ▶ **to'** “and, so”
- ▶ **weeshtue'** “so”

TAM categories are expressed by preverbs (preverbal particles):

- ▶ Irrealis **see**
- ▶ Modal future **kee**
- ▶ Prospective **keetee**
- ▶ ...

Research energy has been directed at the TAM markers, obligatory for sentence concoction; but discourse markers are very common.

# Practice and research

Two case studies: the practice of language learners contradicts pedagogy based on research with older materials.

- ▶ Tense and aspect
- ▶ Valence

# Tense and aspect

- ▶ Yurok marks aspect (and mood), not tense
- ▶ Markers are preverbs (preverbal particles), including these among others (“AM” = associated motion allomorph):

Category	Form	AM	Corpus
Modal future	<b>kee</b> “can, may, will”	<b>kue</b>	908
Prospective	<b>keetee</b> “going to”	<b>keetue</b>	186
Perfective present	(unmarked)	<b>nue</b>	195
Perfective past	(unmarked)	<b>ma</b>	~200
Imperfective present	<b>'ochkaa</b> “am, are, is X-ing”		73
Imperfective past	<b>ho</b> “was, were X-ing”		~250
Inceptive	<b>keet</b> “about to, starting to”		66
Anterior	<b>keech</b> “have (just) X-ed, have just started X-ing”		1303



# Aspect and Reference time

Temporally, preverbs fix Event time relative to Reference time, not Utterance time.

1. **Kue keetee 'ue-merweryk' 'eekee toom' nue hlkeeegor.**  
DET PROSP 3-final.dance:SG CONS be.many AM watch:ITER  
"When the final dance was going to take place everyone went to watch."
2. **Newook' keet 'ne-lekoomelek'.**  
see:1SG INCEP 1-be.stabbed:SG  
"I saw that I was just about to get stabbed."
3. **Noohl 'o lo'omah ... kwesee keech tmoolee' kue ka'ar.**  
then LOC run:PL CONJ ANT shoot:PASS:3SG DET pet  
"Then they ran there, and the pet had been shot."

So the system is one of aspect, not tense *stricto sensu*.

## Modal future vs. prospective

Modal **kee** conveys possibility or volitionality, as well as a temporal relationship, while **keetee** lacks that modal sense.

1. **To' hes Wechpues kee so megeloom'?**

DISC Q W. MOD.FUT DIR go.with:2SG

"Will you go with me to Weitchpec?"

2. **Keetee tenpewe'hl hes?**

PROSP rain:3SG Q

"Is it going to rain?"

This contrast is analogized to English *will* vs. *be going to* and may not be lost.

## Anterior keech

The preverb **keech** expresses a recently completed telic or a recently initiated atelic eventuality:

1. **Kwelekw keech menechokw' kue 'ne-ka'ar.**  
DISC ANT disappear:3SG DET 1-pet  
"My pet has disappeared."
2. **Keech hl'ekw-hl'ekw kue 'weryhl.**  
ANT REPET-break DET egg  
"The eggs broke."
3. **Keech 'ochek'.**  
ANT sneeze:1SG  
"I just sneezed."
4. **Kel' ho sega'ageyem' kwelekw keech wa'soyowom'.**  
you IMPF.PST be.rich:2SG DISC ANT be.poor:2SG  
"You used to be rich, but (now) you are (have become) poor."
5. **Keech mo'ohpeer.**  
ANT foggy  
"It's foggy."

# Replacement patterns

Younger speakers use aspect preverbs for tense:

- ▶ Prospective **keetee** ( $R < E$ )  $\rightarrow$  Future ( $U < E$ ),
  - ▶ Rationale: prototypically  $U = R < E$
- ▶ Anterior **keech** ( $E < R$ )  $\rightarrow$  Present ( $E = U$ )
  - ▶ Rationale: prototypically  $E < R = U$
- ▶ Imperfective past **ho** ( $R \subseteq E < U$ )  $\rightarrow$  Past ( $E < U$ )
  - ▶ Rationale:  $R < U$  (and **ho** is both common and overt)

For example ...

# Replacement patterns

Younger speakers use aspect preverbs for tense, e.g. here where traditionally no preverb would be required:

1. **Chmeyaan ho newook' merk.**

yesterday IMPF.PST see:1SG crane

"Yesterday I saw a crane."

2. **Keech lo'omah.**

ANT run:COLL

"(What do you see?) They're running."

Anterior **keech** is the most frequent aspect preverb; it is common in sentences with English present (progressive) translations.

# The power of tense

What drives the shift to a tense-based system?

- ▶ English interference; but why here and not elsewhere?
  - ▶ Subordinate verb inflection maps directly onto categories of English
  - ▶ Numeral classifiers impose a differentiation on categories of English
  - ▶ But aspect categories crosscut categories of tense
- ▶ English, Spanish, and other IE-language pedagogy
  - ▶ Trull (2003): modal future **kee** and prospective **keetee** = Future, anterior **keech** = Present, imperfective past **ho** = Past
- ▶ Accessible effective methods presuppose tense as a category
  - ▶ Where Are Your Keys? — signs for Past, Present, Future

# Valence

## Argument expression

- ▶ Yurok free argument omission: **ko'moy'** "s/he heard her/him", **ko'moyochek'** "I heard you"
- ▶ English omission affects interpretation: *we ate (it), you cleaned (your room)*

So Yurok tightly regulates valence:

- ▶ **nepek' kahkah** "I ate sturgeon"  
**nepek'** "I ate it"  
**kol' nepek'** "I ate (something)"
- ▶ **cheewey-** "be hungry"  
**cheeweyet-** "be hungry for"

# Transitivizing morphology

Yurok has a range of strategies, including the following:

## ► Causatives

Intransitive	Causative in <b>-et-</b>
<b>lewoley-</b> “be pulled (a boat)”	<b>lewoley-et-</b> “pull (a boat)”
<b>myooley-</b> “be pushed”	<b>myooley-et-</b> “push”
<b>tekun-</b> “be stuck together”	<b>tekun-et-</b> “stick (things) together”

## ► Goal transitives

Intransitive	Transitive in <b>-eem-</b>
<b>rohs-</b> “throw (e.g. a ball)”	<b>rohs-eem-</b> “throw at (e.g. a person)”
<b>chegeyonep-</b> “be annoyed”	<b>chegeyonahp-eem-</b> “be tired of”
<b>chpeenah</b> “wait”	<b>chpeenahp-eem-</b> “await”
<b>naageenep-</b> “have a vague fear”	<b>naageenep-eem-</b> “be afraid of”



# Transitivizing morphology: Experiential predicates

## Intransitive in -oks-

**chpoks-** “think”

**kaamoks-** “feel bad”

**soonoks-** “think”

**tektomoks-** “be angry”

**pkwoks-** “thoughts come true”

**tahtoks-** “be hungry”

**’ohpoks-** “be choking”

**che’looks-** “be thirsty”

**chkenoowoks-** “be very poor”

**heyomoks-** “be lucky”

**hooroks-** “be clever”

**kochpoks-** “meditate”

**tenoowoks-** “be very rich”

**weyoks-** “be poisoned”

## Goal transitive (-eem-)

**chpoks-eem-** “remember”

**kaamoks-eem-** “dislike”

**k’ensoonoks-eem-** “strongly dislike”

**tetomoks-eem-** “be angry at”

**pkwoks-eem-** “find (somebody) out”

**tahtoks-eem-** “starve”

**’ohpoks-eem-** “poison”

**hlmeyoks-eem-** “be suspicious of”

**noks-eem-** “think of”

**pyerwerks-eem-** “love”

**roks-eem-** “trust”

**skewoks-eem-** “like”

**sweyokseem-** “be disrespectful to”

**tenuemonokseem-** “wish bad luck on”

**tyohpeyokseem-** “hate”

**wa’s’okseem-** “pity”

# Valence changes: Younger speakers

## Causatives

- ▶ often correspond to English intransitive vs. transitive word pairs
- ▶ readily analogized to the English lexical pattern

## Goal transitives

- ▶ often correspond to English V vs. V PP pairs
- ▶ not readily analogized to an English lexical pattern
- ▶ therefore treated like English generic-object detransitivization

An example ...

# Valence changes: Younger speakers

## An example

### ► Proposed classroom usage

#### 1. **Cho'**                **tokseemem'**!

COMMAND respect-2SG

[Proposed meaning:] “Be respectful!”

### ► But this should mean “Respect her/him!”

### ► Morphology suggests **\*toks-** ‘be respectful’ → **toks-eem-** ‘respect’, hence **Cho' toksem'**!

### ► But that verb is unattested and while such pairs are attested, they are not thick on the ground.

Such object omission for generic interpretation, without formal detransitivization, is not rare in the usage of younger speakers.

# Practice and research

## Questions in lieu of any conclusion

- ▶ In a database of material from first-language speakers, what are good ways to incorporate neologisms and neologistic uses?
  - ▶ Most stakeholders are puristic in principle, and quite aware of Yurok grammatical distinctiveness.
  - ▶ But pedagogical standardization and resource availability are also important.
- ▶ What is the role of pedagogical material based on traditional usage that is contradicted by the usage of younger speakers?

These are questions to be discussed in the community over coming months and years. Advice and experience welcome!

Mahalo!

Wokhlew kee 'ne-laayolew 'aawokw Aileen Figueroa, Jimmie James, Glenn Moore Sr., 'esee Georgiana Trull, kue 'ne-rahcheen James Gensaw Sr., Carole Lewis, 'esee Barbara McQuillen tue' kem kee 'we-nergerykerpaahl.

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These slides: [linguistics.berkeley.edu/~garrett/ICLDC-2013.pdf](http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~garrett/ICLDC-2013.pdf)